

**HIS EXCELLENCY'S**

**MADARAKA DAY STATE ADDRESS**

**JUNE 1<sup>ST</sup> 2020**

**STATE HOUSE, NAIROBI**

## **My Fellow Countrymen and Friends,**

**1.** Today's celebration is taking place in an unconventional manner. **For the first time in 57 years,** we are unable to celebrate **Madaraka Day** at a public gathering because of the COVID-19 pandemic. **Instead,** I will address you from State House.

**2.** Thank you for joining us through radio, television and through other media to celebrate this day.

**3. First,** allow me to salute you and to wish you all a Happy **57<sup>th</sup> Madaraka day;** a day our Founding Fathers achieved the right to self-government.

**4. We** commemorate this day with fond memories of the struggle for independence and the birth of the Kenyan nation and with it the Kenyan dream.

**5. We are further **emboldened** by the fact that, united in the struggle, we defeated a giant nation. And as we fight the coronavirus pandemic today, our victory over the colonizers should remind us that “...**This too shall pass**”.**

**6. Although slowed down by the health crisis and the economic down-turn caused by COVID-19, I am further comforted by the teachings of our Founding Fathers. They instructed us to be “...our VERY BEST at our DARKEST moment”. They taught us not to question in the **dark**, the dreams we dreamt in the **light**.**

**7.** And when our dreams hit rock-bottom, they taught us not to abandon them, but to **re-imagine** them, instead. They told us that '**rock-bottom**' is actually a foundation you can build on.

**8.** This CORONA Moment we are in is, yes, a DARK moment, alright, but the founders of our nation require us to be at our very BEST. And this demand is not a **lofty ideal**; they practiced it themselves as they fought to bring us self-rule.

**Fellow Kenyans,**

**9.** Self-rule required dreaming **heroically**, embracing the **unknown**, and **offering to die for an ideal**. But this was not an easy feat. As thousands lost their lives at battle, the dream of **Madaraka** increasingly became nothing but “...**a bridge too far**”.

**10.** Yet in their darkest moments, our founding fathers did not abandon the course. **Instead**, they re-imagined it, re-grouped and re-engaged differently.

**11.** Many died before they breathed the air of freedom. **But** many more lived to witness the **flowering** of new nations in the aftermath of the Second World War. **And** this gave them hope that the Kenyan dream is within reach. **It** was possible.

**12.** Because of their **faith and fortitude**, they fought the good fight, and won. **And** out of this, they gifted us Kenya. **On** this **Madaraka day**, we thank them for this gift and for their teachings on how to re-model an idea in the face of enormous challenges and a raging crisis.

**13.** Today, and all future Madaraka days, we will ponder the **state of the Kenyan dream**. And in pondering it, we must remember that Kenya is still a **“work in progress”**.

**14.** Similarly, as we reflect on the progress we have made, as we look inwards for self-introspection, we must not over-criticize ourselves. **And I say so because, in the subconscious mind, we become what we repeatedly do.**



**15.** If we repeatedly feed our **national psyche** with **negative energy**, we become a **nation of angry people**. Yet dreams cannot flourish in a negative environment, whose **main currency is anger**.

**Fellow Kenyans,**

**16.** This Madaraka day, I want us to **re-imagine** Kenyan. **More so**, because, COVID-19 has forced us into a situation where we have to **re-set** our national systems.

**17.** But to re-imagine our dream and nationhood, we must reflect on our history, because history has laws that show us the future. **We** must begin by asking ourselves a number of questions.

**18.** How was the Kenyan dream **imagined** in the very beginning? **And** how did we come to be? **How** did the original blueprint of '**Project Kenya**' look like? **Let us make a historical inquiry in response to these questions.**

**My Fellow Countrymen,**

**19. Two years** after the first **Madaraka Day**, our Founding Fathers adopted **Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965**. It was entitled “**African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya**”. This was the **vision document** for our young nation and was full of dreams for the future to come.

**20.** It envisioned a Kenya with an *Africanized* economy. **A**n economy largely locally owned; whose industries were producing for regional markets; and in which, technology was the **light** and **heat** of commerce. **A** nation that drew from itself, for itself.

**21.** This dream was further articulated by **Jaramogi Oginga Odinga** in his book: "***Not Yet Uhuru***", published in **1967**. The central theme of this book was that Independence was not complete until the economy was in the hands of Africans.

**22. Jaramogi** envisioned a Kenya that was unapologetic about its '**Kenyaness**'; a Kenya that "could stand on its own feet in a world unfriendly to the African people"; and a Kenya that is "**capable of enterprise and development in fields beyond our *shambas***".

**23. Tom Joseph Mboya**, one of our other Founding Fathers, echoed the dream. **But**, in his book "***Freedom and After***" he reminds us that **great things** are made of a **series of small things**.

**24.** And that the making of a nation is the work of many small events and transitions; many small failures and successes.

**25.** But Tom Mboya's main **reflections** were on **constitution-making**. Having been involved in the Lancaster constitution-making process in the **1960s**, Mboya cautioned the nation against **constitutional rigidity**.

**26.** In particular, he argued that the constitution cannot be useful to a country if it is an **end** in itself. **A** good constitution must be responsive to the aspirations of a nation and be a **means to a greater end.**

**27.** And if the political architecture provided by a constitution cannot support the growth and progress of a nation, that constitution becomes a cancer to the "***body politik***".

**28.** On his part, the Founding Father of our Nation, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, imagined a free Kenya as far back as the **1930s**, while at Manchester in the UK. His dream is painted in his book: "***Facing Mount Kenya***", published in **1938**.

**29.** In this dream, he cautioned us that, the **seed** of **freedom** will only take root if our **mindset** is focused on the **right thing**. In the business of building the nation, he warned, we must **not** focus on what has been **done**; our focus should be on what **remains to be done**.



**30.** And this is so because it is natural, every time one target is attained, a new one becomes necessary and urgent. The **right mindset** is, therefore, a **critical plank to making a dream come to life.**

**31.** But **Mzee Kenyatta** made another assertion in his Prison Notes, published into a book entitled: ***“Suffering Without Bitterness”***. Reflecting on his struggles while in prison, Mzee said that if **hope** will sustain you through the fire, **faith** is greater because it enables you to **leap** over the fire.

**32.** The act of **imagining** and **building a nation** from the bottom up must therefore be an **act of faith**. And faith, according to him, is the act of **letting God** know your intentions, but **take charge** of the methods necessary to achieve them.

**Fellow Kenyans,**

**33.** Our Founding Fathers left us with deep **teachings** and **convictions**. Now we must summon the teachings as we re-imagine our nation.

**34.** We have achieved the dreams of the Founding Fathers as captured in **Sessional Paper Number**

**10 of 1965** and revised in **Sessional Paper Number 1 of 1986.**

**35.** Further, we have made admirable progress in the implementation of **Vision 2030**, as my Administration implements the **Big Four Agenda.** But this Vision comes to an end in **9 years.** The **urgency** for a **new vision** and a **new dream** is, therefore, **real.**

**36.** Like Kenya in its **50s**, the Holy Bible required nations to hit the **reset** button every **50 years.** On

the **50<sup>th</sup> year**, all **debts** were **forgiven**, **slaves** were set **free** and all **land** was left unattended.

**37.** This action brought **renewal** to the soul of the nation; **healing** to the land and a fresh **vision** to its people. They called it: "**the Year of Jubilee**".

**38.** But for us to craft this new dream and prepare for the "**...great leap forward**", we **needed to finish what our Founding Fathers had started.**

**And** this is what we set out to do in our quest to uproot the remnants of ignorance, poverty and disease in our midst. This inspired my Administration's transformative agenda for the nation – the Big Four Agenda. **Allow** me to give you only **three examples of unfinished business** started by our founding fathers and which we are endeavoring to complete.

**39.** The first one is **infrastructure** – the backbone and enabler of any economy. **And** by this I mean **Roads, Rail and Ports.** **At** independence,

we had only **1,800 kilometres** of **tarmacked** roads.

**40.** This is what the colonizers built in **78 years** of their occupation between **1885** and **1963**. This means every year they only managed to tarmac a total of **23 kilometres**.

**41.** After independence, our Founding Fathers built an extra **11,200 kilometres** of tarmacked roads. This was done in a period of **50 years** by President **Jomo Kenyatta**, **President Moi** and

President **Kibaki**, at an average of **224 kilometres** per year. **This was 10 times what the colonizers had done.**

**42.** But with better technology, planning and efficiencies, my Administration has built **1,000 kilometres** of tarmacked roads **every year.**

**43.** This is **44 times** more than what the colonial administration built, and more than **4 times** what the first three Administrations built **collectively** per year.

**44.** While we take pride in this achievement, I am cognizant of the fact that this could not have been done without the support of you, my fellow Kenyans.

**45.** Regarding **ports**, our Founding Fathers saw them as **gateways** to **regional** and **international markets**. Apart from the Port of Lamu, which will change regional trade dynamically, the other project is the **Port of Kisumu**.



**46.** This port was built by the colonizers, but it collapsed at some point. **We** have since revived it for strategic purposes. **Lake Victoria** serves both the **northern** and the **southern** corridors.

**47.** And with this port, Kenya can service the region from **Mwanza** and **Bukoba** in **Tanzania**, to **Jinja** and **Entebbe** in **Uganda**; and **Muhoma Bay** in **Rwanda** at **affordable costs** and **decent timing**.

**48.** Beyond serving the region, the port is poised to promote the **ship-building** and **repair industry** in Kenya. It will also catalyze the development of other small Ports. And what I am proud of most, is that we revived the **dead capital** in this port using local **expertise and material**.

**49.** Turning to **railways** now, this is where my **biggest critiques reside**. But that's ok, they are not alone, they are in **fellowship** with the colonizers who called our railway the **Lunatic Express**.

**50.** But those who called it the railway to nowhere did not realise that they were describing Nairobi. Nairobi was a nowhere, when the railway was being constructed.

**51.** In fact, it was a swamp. And that is why **Sir Charles Elliot**, the man who supervised the building of the railway observed: “...**It is not UNCOMMON for a country to create a railway; but it is UNCOMMON for a railway to create a country**”.

**52. Nairobi** and most of our country were created by the railway. And this is why, apart from **SGR**, I am reviving the **defunct Nairobi-Nanyuki railway line, traversing six counties**. The rehabilitation of the **Naivasha to Malaba** metre gauge line is also about to commence.

**53.** The rehabilitation of the **central railway line** is part of a bigger development strategy to link the hinterlands with the Lamu Port and the Southern Sudan Ethiopia Transport Corridor.

**54.** **When** this happens then Kenyans can expect new markets to emerge along the railway line, and the cities to blossom, in response.

**55.** The **second** example of unfinished business from our **Founding Fathers regards** the **dignity of our people**. The freedom struggle was about liberating Kenyans from the **poverty of dignity**, amongst other freedoms.

**56. Three,** to fight what the Founding Fathers called **ignorance,** my Administration has carried out **extensive reforms** in the **education sector.** **We** have secured the place of pride in the continent as the home to the highest transition from primary to secondary education in Africa.

**57. Additionally,** the technical and vocational training is taking root as we seek to reposition our human resource for the ever evolving world economy. **But** the human side of these reforms has also focused on electrification.

**58.** We have connected **99%** of all schools to electricity. And as we did this we also realized that, a substantial part of learning happens at home, even in better days. That is why we were motivated to do the **Last Mile Programme** connecting homes to power.

**59.** For the record, it is worth noting that after **78 years** of colonial rule and **50 years** of the independence administrations, a total of **4.5 million** households were connected to electricity. But from **2013**, and in only **7 years** of my presidency, we have connected close to **3.5 million**

households, bringing the number of households connected close to **8 million**.

**60.** This means that we have done **15 times** more than the previous administrations, to connect our people to electricity. **We** take pride in this, not because we are better, but because we have to **finish the business of our founding fathers** in order to envision a new dream.



**61.** If electricity and education reforms are supported to fight **ignorance**, our efforts to fighting **disease** are in the **Universal Health Care programme**. Our health care reforms are far beyond what our Founding Fathers expected.

**62.** We have not only dispatched **sophisticated machinery** to hospitals across counties in order to **localize treatment**. We have also made this treatment almost free through the NHIF. And we have done this because poor health has a way of **indignifying** people.

**63.** But with treatment **close by** and costs reduced, a patient does not have to sell their property in search of good health. **If** this was the dream of our Founding Fathers, then we **are about to achieve it.** The coronavirus pandemic has highlighted the urgency on this endeavor.

**64.** My **third** example is about **land.** A critical motivation for waging the **war of liberation** against colonial rule was **land.** Regaining our land from the **colonial masters** and laying a personal claim to it was a motivation for the struggle. **That** is why the "**title deed**" became a sacred emblem

to majority Kenyans. **It** is a token earned from a struggle of sorts.

**65.** After **50 years** of independence, **6 million title deeds** were issued by **2013** when I assumed Presidency of our nation. **This** was a **motif** of our faith in the struggle.

**66.** But in **only seven years**, an additional **4.5 million title deeds** have been issued under my Administration. **This** was done to keep the promise of our Founding Fathers alive. **These** are among many other programmes and projects aimed at realizing the dream of our forefathers.

**Fellow Kenyans,**

**67.** As I have already mentioned, **Mzee Jomo Kenyatta** taught us that we must **not** focus on what has been **done**; our focus should be on what **remains to be done.**

**68.** But in giving you the three examples of my achievements, I was not telling you what we have **done.** I was telling you **why** we did it. **We** did it in order to **finish the business of our Founding Fathers** so that we can **re-imagine the Kenya dream.**

**69.** Now I will shift to the two things that **remain to be done** in order **to re-imagine Kenya**.

**70.** The **first thing** goes back to **TJ Mboya** and the thoughts he expounds on in his book "***Freedom and After***" and his collection of speeches published under the title: "***The Challenge of Nationhood***".

**71.** **Fifty years ago**, Mboya warned Kenyans against **constitutional rigidity**. **As** I have already

mentioned, he told us that a constitution is not an end in itself; it is a means to a greater end.

**72. It is a living document.** And if certain **elements** of the constitution **outlive** their **historical purposes**, they become a **cancer**. They must be removed or they will infect the good **elements of the mother law**.

**73.** And this is why we removed **section 2(a)** that had been added to the independence constitution in the early **1980s**. **We** removed this

section in **1991** in order to to create a multi-party system. This section had outlived its **historical purposes** and it was morphing into a political cancer.

**74.** Then after the **2008** violence, we embedded the **National Accord and Reconciliation Act** (NARA) into the constitution, to expand the Executive Arm of Government. This happened out of historical necessity. **And in 2010,** we formulated and adopted a new constitution, altogether replacing the independence constitution.

**75.** I am truly thankful to the Almighty for having been given the mandate by the people of Kenya to, not only lead its implementation but also to serve as the first President under this constitution.

**76. Ten years later,** I am already discerning **a constitutional moment.** Not a moment to replace the **2010 constitution** but one to **improve on it.** A moment that will **right** what we got **wrong** in **2010.** But fundamentally, the constitutional moment I discern is one that will **bring an end to the senseless cycles of violence we have experienced in every election since 1992.** And one that will deepen



our democratic credentials and lead to a much more inclusive society, which, I believe, was the intention of the framers of the **2010 constitution**.

**Fellow Kenyans,**

**77. We** cannot re-imagine our nationhood without changing our **political architecture**. **And** we cannot change this architecture without re-engineering our constitution.

**78. If** we have done great things in the area of brick and mortar, the greater things that remain to be done have to do with our governance system.

And we must not be afraid of changing this system,  
**if it does not serve our present purposes.**

**79.** The **second thing** that remains to be done is the **transformation of our civic culture.** Culture is at the core of re-imagining a national dream. **And** when the drafters of **Chapter 6** of our constitution put pen to paper, what they wanted was to bring this culture to order. **But** it is difficult to police a political culture. **More** so if the culture is like the one described by **Cannon Donaldson of Westminster Abbey.**

**80.** In his sermon of **March 20<sup>th</sup> 1925**, Donaldson spoke of a culture that thrives in “...**Politics** without **Principle**; **Wealth** without **Work**; **Pleasure** without **Conscience**; **Knowledge** without **Morality**; **Science** without **Humanity** and **Worship** without **Sacrifice**”.

**81.** And part of this sermon speaks to our reality as Kenyans. If we are to **push the re-set button** and re-imagine our dreams as a nation, we must transform **our civic culture** to one that is **biased towards duty, hard work and integrity**.

## **My Fellow Countrymen,**

**82.** We need political leaders totally committed to promoting not self but what will transform lives of our people in line with what our founding fathers yearned for. **Indeed, as Martin Luther King, Jr** said: “***We need political leaders not in love with money but in love with justice. Not in love with publicity but in love with humanity***”.

**83.** Finally, I will make remarks regarding our national response to the **coronavirus pandemic.**

**As a caring, responsive Government, and to cushion all Kenyan households against the economic shocks triggered by the Coronavirus Disease Pandemic, we continue to progressively roll-out targeted measures to sustain livelihoods.**

**84. We have reduced taxes to enhance affordability of all products by reducing VAT from 16% to 14%, and increased the earnings and**

purchasing power of all **employees** by reducing **PAYE**, and also incentivized businesses to retain staff and operations by reducing Corporation Tax.

**85. Last Saturday**, I announced the **8 Point Economic Stimulus Programme** – additionally sending **Ksh. 53.7 Billion** to Kenyan households. **As part of this Programme, Tourism** is a key area of response.

**86.** The Tourism Sector has suffered some of the most severe shocks - due to restricted movement,

termination of international flights and the introduction of social distancing protocols.

**87.** To jumpstart this important sector, and to protect its players from heavy financial losses, my Administration will refocus our intervention by offering an initial **Ksh. 2 Billion** exchequer support to hotels and related establishments to ensure that they maintain their staff compliment.

**Fellow Kenyans,**

**88.** We need not be persuaded as a people why we must do everything in our power to conquer this invisible enemy – the coronavirus disease. **B**ut to do so, and regain the ground we have lost, we must come together as a Nation. **E**ach one of us is called to become a **Shujaa against this Disease.**

**89.** The containment measures and protocols issued by the Government, while absolutely necessary, have constrained our freedoms and our way of life.

**90.** **I** appreciate the anxiety weighing heavy on the minds of parents and children – particularly



those preparing for the national examinations. **I** share the heavy hearts of all the faithful who can no longer congregate and share in worship of **The Almighty.**

**91.** In that regard, and conscious of the emerging trend of infections, **I direct** as follows:

- I. That** the Ministry of Education fast-tracks and finalizes the ongoing consultations with the stakeholders that will provide an appropriate

calendar for gradual resumption of education in the country. **The** guidelines should also include protocols to be followed by all learning institutions to guarantee the safety of our children.

**II. That** conscious of Kenya as a God-fearing nation, I direct the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Health to continue and hasten

their engagement with religious leaders; with the objective of developing protocols that will be adopted to guide a more participatory way of worship while guaranteeing the safety of worshipers.

**Fellow Kenyans,**

**92.** Let me on behalf of an eternally grateful Nation, recognize and commend our Healthcare

Workers for giving their all in support of our response to this Pandemic.

**93. I** also recognize our researchers and innovators, including the team of University Students that designed and built a customized Ventilator.

**94. The** country is also indebted to the thousands of Kenyans who provided meals for our men and women in uniform manning checkpoints, and our

artists who raised awareness of the virus through their music and artwork.

**95. We** also recognize and commend all those who have selflessly and generously supported the **Coronavirus Response Emergency Fund**; from the contribution of Ksh. **500** made by **11-Year-Old Zawadi Mutua**, to the Ksh. **300 million** personal contribution by **Dr. James Mwangi** and family.

**96. We** applaud all the Kenyans who have donated **foodstuffs, clothes, sanitary items** and other support items to the Fund; which have been

channeled to needy and vulnerable Kenyans affected by this Crisis.

**97.** To recognize and honour those Kenyans who have exhibited exemplary **service, sacrifice, patriotism, heroism** and high sense of civic duty

in helping steer Kenya through the current Pandemic; and on behalf of an eternally grateful Nation, I have on this **1<sup>st</sup> Day of June, 2020** issued an Executive Order establishing a new National Award and State Commendation - **THE PRESIDENTIAL ORDER OF SERVICE – UZALENDO AWARD.**

**98.** The names of the **inaugural recipients** of this high National Honour have been published in a

Special Issue of the Kenya Gazette dedicated to them.

**Fellow Kenyans,**

**99.** I would like to end my address today by reemphasizing the calling by our Founding Fathers.

**100.** They went through **fire** and yet founded a nation that we call Kenya today; their voices are calling out to us during this moment of dark uncertainty.



**101.** And they are telling us: “...**to be our very BEST in our DARKEST, MOMENT**”. They are telling us that they fought the liberation war for over **40 years** and it came to **pass**.

**102.** And if we see our current CORONA moment through the lens of this historical assurance: “...**This too will Pass!**”

**God Bless You. God Bless Kenya.**

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